

With Diplomas of Patriotism:  
African American Civil War Veterans in Ohio

A Senior Honors Thesis

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by

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## Introduction

In the past two decades, historians have begun to focus attention on the story and struggle of the more than 186,000 African American men who served in the Civil War. While scholars have produced books such as *Forged in Battle* and *Black Soldiers in Blue* which have greatly advanced knowledge about the role of these men during the war, relatively little has been written about what happened to these men after they returned home.<sup>1</sup>

There are several noteworthy books about the post-war experiences of Union soldiers. However, none of them delve deeply into the topic of African American veterans. Stuart McConnell in his book *Glorious Contentment*, for example, discusses the conflict around creating African American posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, but talks very little about the black veterans themselves.<sup>2</sup>

A notable exception to this pattern of scholarship is Donald Shaffer's book *After the Glory*. In this book, Shaffer gives the results of his research into the post-war experience of black veterans. His groundbreaking research compares African American veterans to white veterans and, to a lesser extent, to the African American population as a whole.<sup>3</sup>

Shaffer concluded that black veterans did not fare as well economically or socially as white veterans, but better than the African American population as a whole. Black veterans

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<sup>1</sup> For more information on the United States Colored Troops, see John David Smith, ed., *Black Soldiers in Blue: African American Troops in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Noah Andre Trudeau, *Like Men of War: Black Troops in the Civil War 1862-1865* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1998); and Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York: The Free Press, 1990).

<sup>2</sup> Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

<sup>3</sup> Donald R. Shaffer, *After the Glory: The Struggles of Black Civil War Veterans* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004).

overall were more literate, more gainfully employed, and better off financially than other members of the black community.<sup>4</sup>

There is a drawback to Shaffer's method. His reference group of black veterans was drawn from the "Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served with the United States Colored Troops" (National Archives micropublication M589)<sup>5</sup> which made the reference group national in scope. As a result, his conclusions have to be an average across different regions of the country. His conclusions also have to be an average across different types of veterans, both veterans from regiments formed in the south and veterans from regiments formed in the north.

The goal of this study is to see whether Shaffer's conclusion is accurate in Ohio. Did African American veterans in Ohio fare worse than white veterans, but better than blacks who did not serve in the army?

This study examines three groups of men living in Springfield, Ohio: African American Civil War veterans, white Civil War veterans, and African American non-veterans. Springfield was chosen because of the size of its African American population, its profile as an "average" Ohio city in the late nineteenth century, and the availability of records.

Each reference group was identified via the federal census. The most concise source for identifying Civil War veterans and their regiments in a specific location in the late nineteenth century is the 1890 Special Schedule of Civil War Veterans and Widows.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Shaffer, *After the Glory*, 65, 119.

<sup>5</sup> Shaffer, *After the Glory*, 203.

<sup>6</sup> Special Schedules of the Eleventh Census (1890) Enumerating Union Veterans and Widows of Union Veterans of the Civil War. National Archives publication M123, roll 63. This schedule was taken at the same time as the federal population census. Schedules are extant for all states alphabetically from Kentucky (partial) through Wyoming.

The reference group of African American veterans includes every member of the United States Colored Troops, 54th Massachusetts Infantry, or 55th Massachusetts Infantry listed in the 1890 Special Schedule in the Fifth Ward of Springfield, which was the single largest community of African Americans living in Clark County. There were thirty black veterans and three widows of black veterans living in the Fifth Ward.<sup>7</sup>

The number of white veterans living in the Fifth Ward was much larger; therefore, it was necessary to create a random sample. To do so, every veteran who appeared on lines 6 and 18 on the pages of the Fifth Ward in the 1890 Special Schedule was extracted. In order to keep the reference groups similar, if the veteran reported a rank higher than corporal then the next veteran was extracted. Thirty white veterans comprise the reference group.

The African American non-veterans were found using the population schedule of the 1880 federal census. Like the white veteran group, the size of the African American community necessitated the use of a random sample. First, members of the African American veteran group were found in the 1880 census in Springfield. Starting with the first page where a member of the African American veteran group was found, the first 35- to 55-year-old African American male listed on every tenth page was extracted.<sup>8</sup> This age range is the same as that of the Civil War veterans. There are thirty men in the African American non-veteran group.

The results of this study are surprising. The African American veterans fared worse than the white veterans. However, the black veterans fared no better—and sometimes much worse—

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<sup>7</sup> Special Schedules of the Eleventh Census (1890) Enumerating Union Veterans and Widows of Union Veterans of the Civil War, National Archives publication M123, roll 63.

<sup>8</sup> For all three groups, if a name was illegible, the next entry to meet the requirements was used.

than the African Americans who did not serve in the military. As a whole, military service did not significantly improve the lives of the African American veterans in Ohio.

## Chapter 1

### Context

#### African Americans in the Civil War

From the beginning of the Civil War, African Americans understood what was at stake: an opportunity to end slavery and gain the rights of citizenship. After the Confederates fired upon Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, both white and black men of the north eagerly sought to join the Union Army. Federal officials would have no part in allowing blacks to enlist. With scores of white men willing and able to serve, the government stood behind its official policy of racism and refused blacks the right to enlist.<sup>9</sup>

Ohio followed the lead of the federal government. Blacks from around the state tried to enlist, including a group of 115 students from Wilberforce University who raised their own company. Ohio Governor William Dennison did not allow their entrance into the service. Governor David Tod, elected in 1862, continued this policy, telling African American leader John Mercer Langston, “This is a white man’s government; that white men are able to defend and protect it, and that to enlist a negro soldier would be to drive every white man out of the service.” Popular sentiment was similar in places like Cincinnati, where there was a threat of mob violence if Ohio allowed black enlistments.<sup>10</sup>

Although Ohio would not accept them into its regiments at this time, black Ohioans found ways to serve. Many, including several members of the company raised at Wilberforce,

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<sup>9</sup> Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, 2-3.

<sup>10</sup> Versalle F. Washington, *Eagles on Their Buttons: A Black Infantry Regiment in the Civil War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 2-3.



left the state and enlisted in black regiments in Massachusetts. Others headed to Kansas, Louisiana, and South Carolina where they could enlist in newly-formed black regiments.<sup>11</sup>

The federal government slowly came to realize the asset it had in these men who were so willing to serve. The Union Army had been using freed and runaway slaves (“contraband”) as camp labor since early 1862. With the war dragging on, casualties mounting, and enlistments lagging, President Abraham Lincoln authorized the creation of African American regiments in the summer of 1862.<sup>12</sup> Secretary of War Edwin Stanton instructed Brigadier General Rufus Saxton in August 1862 “to enroll and organize ... colored persons of African descent for volunteer laborers to a number not exceeding 5,000 and muster them into the service of the United States for the term of the war ... to do and perform such laborers’ duty as may be required in the military service.”<sup>13</sup> Although the vast majority of these regiments that were subsequently formed were led by white officers, African American men finally had a right and an opportunity to fight.

There was such a demand to enter these units — the United States Colored Troops (USCT) — that the Adjutant General’s Office had to form a new administrative arm: the Bureau of Colored Troops. Historian Joseph T. Glatthaar points out that at one time, the Bureau of Colored Troops had more than 123,000 troops in uniform, more than either generals Grant or Sherman had at the height of their 1864 and 1865 campaigns.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Washington, *Eagles on Their Buttons*, 2, 6.

<sup>12</sup> Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, 7-10.

<sup>13</sup> United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Volume XIV (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1885), 377.

<sup>14</sup> Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, 10.

It was almost one year later before Ohio would seek Secretary Stanton's approval to raise a black regiment. Until May 1863, Governor Tod encouraged Ohio's African American men to join regiments in Massachusetts, which they did by the hundreds. In one month alone, almost nine hundred men went through Cleveland to join Massachusetts units. However, there were federal quotas requiring the states to raise specific numbers of troops. With the number of enlistments shrinking, the draft became a real possibility. Tod realized that the Ohioans leaving the state were being credited to other states and that allowing an African American regiment to be raised in Ohio would help Ohio attain its quota.<sup>15</sup>

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact number of men who served in the United States Colored Troops, due to numerous re-designations and consolidations of regiments. The United States Adjutant General's Office placed the total at 186,097.<sup>16</sup> The total is likely closer to 200,000, as at least two black regiments — the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Infantry — retained their state designation throughout the war. The USCT was comprised of 163 African American units.<sup>17</sup> In addition, approximately 18,000 African Americans served in the Union Navy.<sup>18</sup>

Ohio raised two African American regiments: the 127th Ohio Volunteer Infantry (Colored), which was later re-designated the 5th USCT, and the 27th USCT. In all, Ohio was credited with the enlistment of 5,092 members of the USCT, the second-most of any free state.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Washington, *Eagles on Their Buttons*, 9-10.

<sup>16</sup> Washington, *Eagles on Their Buttons*, 81.

<sup>17</sup> National Park Service Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System, "History of African Americans in the Civil War," National Park Service, [http://www.civilwar.nps.gov/cwss/history/aa\\_history.htm](http://www.civilwar.nps.gov/cwss/history/aa_history.htm) (accessed May 12, 2009).

<sup>18</sup> National Park Service Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System, "Black Sailors: The Howard University Research Project," National Park Service, [http://www.civilwar.nps.gov/cwss/sailors\\_index.html](http://www.civilwar.nps.gov/cwss/sailors_index.html) (accessed May 12, 2009).

<sup>19</sup> Washington, *Eagles on Their Buttons*, 81. Pennsylvania had the largest number of USCT enlistments of all the free states, with 8,612.

## The Post-war Period

After the Civil War, Ohio experienced steady growth. Overall population rose 39 percent between 1870 and 1890, to a total of almost 3.7 million people. Ohio was the nation's fourth most populous state, barely edged out by Illinois. Not only was Ohio's population growing, but it was also shifting from farms to urban centers. Rural counties, such as Meigs, Monroe, Pickaway, Ross, and Washington had net losses in population between 1880 and 1890.<sup>20</sup> By contrast, the populations of the counties with the nine largest cities in the state (all with populations over 25,000) increased between 19 percent (Hamilton County) and 57 percent (Cuyahoga County).<sup>21</sup>

After the end of the Civil War, former slaves in the South began migrating north. Ohio, with its growing industrial base, was a popular destination. The growth of the African American population nearly kept pace with the overall population's rate of growth in Ohio. Between 1870 and 1890, the African American population in Ohio increased 37.8 percent, to a total of over 87,000.<sup>22</sup>

Most African Americans settled in Ohio's cities, rather than in rural areas. Cincinnati had, by far, the largest African American population in Ohio in 1890 with 11,655. Columbus was a distant second with only 5,525. In all, seven Ohio cities had black populations of more than one thousand.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Department of the Interior, Census Division, *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890*, part I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 2, 35-36.

<sup>21</sup> Department of the Interior, Census Division, *Abstract of the Eleventh Census: 1890*, second edition (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 27. The largest cities in Ohio were identified in *Report on Population...1890*, 370-372.

<sup>22</sup> Dept. of the Interior, Census Division, *Report on Population...1890*, part I, 424-425.

<sup>23</sup> Dept. of the Interior, Census Division, *Report on Population...1890*, part I, 473-475.

Table 1.1. Total population and percentage of increase in Ohio and the counties with the nine largest cities, 1870-1890.

	1870	1880	% Increase	1890	% Increase (over 1880)
Ohio	2,635,269	3,198,062	21.4%	3,672,316	14.8%
<b>Counties (city):</b>					
Clark (Springfield)	32,070	41,948	30.8%	52,277	24.6%
Cuyahoga (Cleveland)	132,010	196,943	49.2%	309,970	57.4%
Franklin (Columbus)	63,019	86,797	37.7%	124,087	43.0%
Hamilton (Cincinnati)	260,370	313,374	20.4%	374,573	19.5%
Lucas (Toledo)	46,722	67,377	44.2%	102,296	51.8%
Mahoning (Youngstown)	31,001	42,871	38.3%	55,979	30.6%
Montgomery (Dayton)	64,006	78,550	22.7%	100,852	28.4%
Stark (Canton)	52,508	64,031	21.9%	84,170	31.5%
Summit (Akron)	34,674	43,788	26.3%	54,089	23.5%
<i>Source:</i> Department of the Interior, Census Division, <i>Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890</i> , part I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 35.					

### Springfield and Clark County After the War

Clark County followed Ohio's pattern of urban growth, having a nearly 25 percent increase in population between 1880 and 1890.<sup>24</sup> Springfield, its county seat, was the seventh largest city in Ohio in 1890 with a population of 31,895.<sup>25</sup>

As Springfield grew at the end of the nineteenth century, so did its African American community. The number of African Americans kept pace with Springfield's overall growth

<sup>24</sup> Dept. of the Interior, Census Division, *Report on Population...1890*, part I, 35.

<sup>25</sup> Dept. of the Interior, Census Division, *Report on Population...1890*, part I, 372.

during this time period, and the community held steady at approximately 11 percent of Springfield's population from 1880 to 1900.<sup>26</sup>

Clark County and adjacent Greene and Champaign counties all had sizable communities of African Americans. In 1900 Xenia, the county seat of Greene County and home of Wilberforce University, had a black population of approximately 22 percent, making it the largest black community (by percentage) of any city in the state. Urbana, the county seat of Champaign County, had a black population of 11.8 percent.<sup>27</sup>

The African American populations of Champaign and Greene counties did not rise at as great a rate as it did in Clark County. Greene County's black population actually decreased nearly 11 percent between 1880 and 1890.<sup>28</sup> There was some migration from Urbana and Xenia to Springfield. Interestingly, although Dayton is fifteen miles closer to Xenia than Springfield is, it had an African American population of only 4 percent. Political scientist Edwin Smith Todd attributed the migration to Springfield rather than to nearby Dayton to the greater economic opportunities that Springfield held.<sup>29</sup>

Springfield was a bustling, industrial town in the late nineteenth century. The city was home to Champion Machine Company, which manufactured reapers and other types of agricultural machinery. At one time, Champion's factory was the largest of its type in the world and employed one thousand men. (Champion was eventually bought by International Harvester.)

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<sup>26</sup> Edwin Smith Todd, "A Sociological Study of Clark County, Ohio," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1904), 42.

<sup>27</sup> Todd, "A Sociological Study of Clark County, Ohio," 42.

<sup>28</sup> Dept. of the Interior, Census Division, *Report on Population...1890*, part I, 425.

<sup>29</sup> Todd, "A Sociological Study of Clark County, Ohio," 42-43.

Other farm implement companies had factories in Springfield, including the A. C. Evans Company, and the P. P. Mast Company.<sup>30</sup>

In the years immediately after the Civil War, the white and black communities in Springfield worked rather well together. This changed dramatically in 1886. Factory owners used African American strikebreakers to end a strike by the city's all-white iron molders union. Race relations were never the same after that.<sup>31</sup>

Race relations in Springfield simmered and finally exploded on March 7, 1904. Richard Dixon, an African American, was arrested for the murder of court bailiff Charles B. Collis. A mob formed outside the Clark County Jail, where Dixon was being held. For more than four hours, the mob shouted, broke windows, and demanded Dixon be turned over to them. They eventually stormed the jail. Dixon was shot twenty-seven times and his body was dragged through the streets and hung from a telegraph pole. Afterwards, the mob turned its energy toward burning down buildings in the Levee, a run-down section of Springfield inhabited mostly by blacks. Two other race riots occurred in 1906 and 1921.<sup>32</sup>

Not all of the tension was seen in such violent ways. Until the 1880s, Springfield had separate schools for whites and blacks. When the schools were combined, some white parents refused to let their children sit next to black children. Some black parents objected when teachers

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<sup>30</sup> William M. Rockel, *20th Century History of Springfield and Clark County, Ohio and Representative Citizens* (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., 1908), 405-406, 411-413.

<sup>31</sup> Kevin Boyle, *Arc of Justice: A Saga of Race, Civil Rights, and Murder in the Jazz Age* (New York: H. Holt, 2004), 76.

<sup>32</sup> Benjamin F. Prince, *A Standard History of Springfield and Clark County, Ohio* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1922), 371-374.

tried to place all of the black children in a class together. Also, after the schools combined, Springfield no longer employed any black schoolteachers.<sup>33</sup>

Whites in Springfield saw African Americans as being in one of two classes. The first class was educated and considered “highly respectable” and would “render efficient service.”<sup>34</sup> In the other class were most of the African Americans who had migrated from the south. They were viewed as less intelligent and willing to live on charity. It was hoped that their children, after attending the high school in town, would become “quiet, self-respecting, self-controlled, and law-abiding citizens.”<sup>35</sup>

Blacks found themselves locked out of labor unions and political office. Only one African American was elected to office in Clark County before 1904. However, there was strength in the African American community, as seen by the number of black churches and fraternal organizations in the late nineteenth century.<sup>36</sup>

County historian Benjamin F. Prince summed up the dichotomy and tension of life for African Americans living in Springfield: “The Negroes like the social conditions North better than South — they like Springfield when there are no riots in progress.”<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Todd, “Sociological Study of Clark County, Ohio,” 66.

<sup>34</sup> Prince, *Standard History of Springfield*, 375.

<sup>35</sup> Todd, “Sociological Study of Clark County, Ohio,” 66.

<sup>36</sup> Todd, “Sociological Study of Clark County, Ohio,” 66-67; *Williams’ Springfield City Directory for 1884-85* (n.p.: Williams & Co., 1884); *Williams’ Springfield City Directory for 1886* (n.p.: Williams & Co., 1886).

<sup>37</sup> Prince, *Standard History of Springfield*, 376.

## Chapter 2

### To Help Veterans: The Grand Army of the Republic

#### Grand Army of the Republic

After the war was over, veterans groups sprang up across the country. The most successful of these was the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR). The GAR was founded in April 1866 in Decatur, Illinois by B. F. Stephenson and William J. Rutledge, both veterans of the 14th Illinois Infantry. Membership requirements were quite liberal. Unlike the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, which was open only to Union officers, the GAR was open to honorably discharged Union veterans regardless of rank. The only other stipulation was that the veteran must never have borne arms against the United States. The goals of the organization were to preserve the “fraternal feelings” of the veterans; aid those veterans in need of assistance; assist the orphans and widows of fallen comrades; protect wounded and disabled veterans; and work toward helping the American people recognize their service.<sup>38</sup>

The GAR grew quickly. The first national convention, held in November 1866 in Indianapolis, Indiana, had representatives from eleven Departments (the state/regional level of administration), including Ohio. By the end of 1871, there were 30,124 GAR members nationwide.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Keith G. Harrison, “Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States,” Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, <http://www.suvw.org/mollus/mollus.htm>; John E. Gilman, “The Grand Army of the Republic,” (1910), <http://www.civilwarhome.com/grandarmyofrepublic.htm>; J. Worth Carnahan, *Manual of the Civil War and Key to the Grand Army of the Republic and Kindred Societies* (Chicago, IL: Easel Monument Association, 1897), 19-20.

<sup>39</sup> Carnahan, *Manual of the Civil War*, 20; Robert B. Beath, *History of the Grand Army of the Republic* (Cincinnati: Bryan, Taylor & Co., c1888), 651.



Growth of the GAR in Ohio mirrored that of the national organization. By January 1867, just a mere eight months after the GAR's founding in Illinois, Ohio had 135 posts (the local level of the organization). The number of posts more than doubled to 303 by the end of 1868.<sup>40</sup> However, this rapid growth came to a sudden end.

The GAR faced several obstacles early in its existence. The first was in its membership structure. In 1868, a graded system of membership was introduced. Members would be admitted as a Recruit on a probationary basis and advance to Soldier on the recommendation of two other members and a two-thirds vote of the post. Six months later, he could advance to Veteran (again with two recommendations and a two-thirds vote). Members questioned why they had to go through a ranking system when they already had a rank from the Army or Navy. Although a graded system had worked well for other fraternal organizations such as the Masons and the Improved Order of Red Men, it caused the resignation of numerous members. In Pennsylvania, for example, more than fifty posts disbanded.<sup>41</sup>

Another obstacle for the GAR was its early role in politics. During the election of 1866, the leadership of the GAR threw the weight of the organization toward Republican candidates and causes. Democrats left in droves. The GAR tried to change its position to one of official neutrality. In 1868, it adopted a policy of not making nominations for political office or "to use its influence as a secret organization for partisan purposes." Further, in 1869, the GAR added to its rules a prohibition on members using the organization "for partisan purposes." Even with

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<sup>40</sup> T. D. McGillicuddy, *Proceedings of the Annual and Semi-Annual Encampments of the Department of Ohio Grand Army of the Republic for the First Fourteen Years of Its Existence* (Columbus: F. J. Heer, 1912), 4. With the exception of a brief introduction, the book is comprised of the reports and addresses of the Department Commander at the annual and semi-annual encampments.

<sup>41</sup> McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 31-33.

these changes, the public continued to see the GAR as nothing more than a political organization.<sup>42</sup>

GAR leadership in Ohio urged members not to bring politics into the organization. Thomas L. Young, Commander of the Department of Ohio, warned in 1868 that, “To that extent the Grand Army is political — ought to be — but no further. If carried beyond this, then I will take the liberty to say here, its days will be numbered.” Department Commander G. M. Barber tried to remind GAR members (and the public at large) in 1873 that there was no more political activity in the GAR than “there is in the Lord’s prayer, the Methodist discipline, or the Presbyterian articles of faith.”<sup>43</sup>

The public also perceived the GAR as a secret society, similar to the Masons or the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. As early as July 1869, J. Warren Keifer, the Commander of the Department of Ohio, recognized this as a criticism which was hindering growth of the organization. He refuted this “false ground” of opposition, proclaiming, “Its [the GAR’s] objects are openly proclaimed to the world, and their noble character is such as to challenge the admiration of the charitable, loyal and liberty loving.”<sup>44</sup>

Secrecy was not the only charge leveled against the organization. The GAR was also seen as an elitist organization. Keifer was so concerned about this criticism that he dedicated two pages of his address at the state encampment in July 1870 to countering this argument. He contrasted the GAR with the Society of the Cincinnati, an organization for descendants of Revolutionary War officers who had served at least three years. The GAR was quite different, as

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<sup>42</sup> Carnahan, *Manual of the Civil War*, 21-23.

<sup>43</sup> Elmer Edward Noyes, “A History of the Grand Army of the Republic in Ohio from 1866 to 1900,” (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1945), 6-7.

<sup>44</sup> McGillicuddy, *Proceedings of the Annual and Semi-annual Encampments*, 33.

it was open to all Union veterans, regardless of rank or length of service. The hereditary nature of the Society of the Cincinnati promoted a tone of aristocracy, Keifer maintained. The GAR, by contrast, was an organization with a limited life. Since only Civil War veterans were eligible for membership, “With the death of the last soldier, sailor and marine... will pass away the necessity for the organization...”<sup>45</sup> The taint of elitism — real or perceived — continued to plague the GAR for several more years.<sup>46</sup>

What had perhaps the greatest impact on the re-strengthening of the organization in the late 1870s and early 1880s was the relaxation of rules of admission and the granting to the local posts more latitude on disciplinary matters.<sup>47</sup> With this, the posts could place more emphasis on matters that were important to local members. The GAR went from being an impersonal national organization to being a society relevant to its members and prospective members. This was more in keeping with the original aim of the organization as being “for the benefit of the private soldiers.”<sup>48</sup>

Local posts met the needs of their members in many ways. Most posts met once or twice a month; a few met weekly. It will never be known exactly what happened at these meetings beyond the official proceedings recorded in the minutes. However, as historian Stuart McConnell asserts, it is not unreasonable to think that they discussed matters that the men would only feel comfortable talking about with others who had been in combat.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> McGillicuddy, *Proceedings of the Annual and Semi-annual Encampments*, 47-48.

<sup>46</sup> McGillicuddy, *Proceedings of the Annual and Semi-annual Encampments*, 72-73.

<sup>47</sup> McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 44-45.

<sup>48</sup> McGillicuddy, *Proceedings of the Annual and Semi-annual Encampments*, 21.

<sup>49</sup> McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 178-179.

In addition to the important psychological support offered by fellow veterans, local GAR posts gave tangible, financial support to its members. The Women's Relief Corps, the ladies auxiliary to the GAR, also disbursed aid, which was often substantial. For example, Women's Relief Corps, No. 200, the auxiliary to the Ben Butterfield GAR Post in Lancaster, disbursed \$10,000 in aid between its inception in 1887 and 1912.<sup>50</sup>

The GAR strove to prevent any indigent Civil War veteran — regardless of membership — from being buried in a pauper's grave.<sup>51</sup> In 1884, the Department of Ohio was a key factor in the passage of legislation which provided for the burial of indigent soldiers. Under this law, county commissioners were to appoint committees to investigate the merits of the claims and to provide for the burials at an expense of no more than \$35 each.<sup>52</sup> Local GAR posts assisted in this cause by purchasing burial plots in local cemeteries which could be used for these burials (as well as any GAR who wished to be buried there). By 1899, 161 local GAR posts in Ohio owned burial plots set aside for this purpose.<sup>53</sup>

The GAR also undoubtedly saw an increase in membership due to the organization's willingness to assist veterans in obtaining pensions. In America's wars before 1861, pensions were based on a combination of the veteran's length of service, disability, and financial necessity.

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<sup>50</sup> Patsy Kishler and Karen Smith, "Military Organizations of Fairfield County, Ohio," *Ohio Civil War Genealogy Journal* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 101.

<sup>51</sup> McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 136-137.

<sup>52</sup> Noyes, "History of the Grand Army of the Republic in Ohio," 238-239.

<sup>53</sup> *Proceedings of the Thirty-third Annual Encampment of the Department of Ohio, Grand Army of the Republic, Youngstown, O., June 20, 21 and 22, 1899* (Columbus: Nitschke Bros, 1899), 178.

There was a stigma attached to applying for a pension and an even larger stigma for actually receiving one.<sup>54</sup> The Civil War changed all of that.

From its beginning, the GAR in Ohio prided itself on its egalitarian structure. In 1868, Department Commander Thomas Young proudly exclaimed: “We are gratified to note, too, that in this fraternity there are no distinctions of rank, race or color, but that every man who possesses a diploma of patriotism — an honorable discharge — is equal to his fellows in all the rights and benefits of the order.”<sup>55</sup> However, this credo was not always put into practice.

The Department of Louisiana and Mississippi denied charters to black posts. This became a hotly debated issue at the 1887 national encampment. Should those posts be allowed to petition the national leadership for a charter? The proposal to allow the petition passed, but the status of black posts in those states remained uncertain. GAR leaders in the southern states feared backlash from white former Confederates with whom they needed to conduct daily business. They proposed to the national leadership that there should be a completely separate department for African American veterans. This would prevent any interaction between the posts, as each department would have separate rules, separate annual encampments, etc. The proposal was defeated.<sup>56</sup>

The situation in Ohio was not nearly as heated. However, the membership was far from fully integrated. A study of quarterly Department of Ohio muster rolls between 1886 and 1890

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<sup>54</sup> Chad Alan Goldberg, *Citizens and Paupers: Relief, Rights, and Race, from the Freedmen's Bureau to Workfare*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 82-84.

<sup>55</sup> McGillicuddy, *Proceedings of the Annual and Semi-annual Encampments*, 15.

<sup>56</sup> Shaffer, *After the Glory*, 144-147.

combined with the list of deceased members in the proceedings of the annual encampments revealed nine segregated posts:<sup>57</sup>

- William Anderson Post 244, Washington Court House, Fayette County
- Old John Brown Post 450, Oxford, Butler County
- Daniels Post 500, Xenia, Greene County
- Col. R. G. Shaw Post 580, Cincinnati, Hamilton County
- W. L. Wright Post 588, Chillicothe, Ross County
- Martin R. Delaney Post 615, Dayton, Montgomery County
- John Brown Post 633, Springfield, Clark County
- George W. Steel Post 657, Columbus, Franklin County
- Allen Post 675, Wilmington, Clinton County

An examination of those same records showed that not only were these posts exclusively black, but that the other posts in six of those counties were exclusively white. No blacks were listed as members in other posts in Butler, Fayette, Franklin, Greene, Hamilton, and Ross counties. In Clark County, only one African American veteran (Abraham Nutter, a private in the 27th United States Colored Troops) was a member of a post other than Post 633 in Springfield.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, the only black veteran in Clinton County not in Post 675 was James M. Smith of the 5th USCT who belonged to Post 58.<sup>59</sup> In Montgomery County, African American veterans belonged to either Martin Delaney Post 615 or Post 5, which was located at the National Military Home.

This arrangement was not unusual. Historian Barbara A. Gannon's study of African Americans in the GAR found that forty of the largest cities in the United States in 1890 had fifty

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<sup>57</sup> This list was compiled using the Muster Rolls, series 6, Records of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Ohio, MSS 715, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, as well as the records of the annual encampments of 1887, 1889, 1890, 1899, 1900, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1907, and 1914.

<sup>58</sup> *Proceedings of the Thirty-sixth Annual Encampment of the Department of Ohio Grand Army of the Republic, Lancaster, Ohio, May 6th, 7th, and 8th, 1902* (Akron: Commercial Printing, 1902), n.p.

<sup>59</sup> *Proceedings of the Twenty-first Annual Encampment of the Department of Ohio, Grand Army of the Republic Held at Springfield, Ohio, April 27th, 28th and 29th, 1887* (Akron: Werner Printing, 1887), 41.

or more African American veterans. Of these forty cities, thirty-eight had at least one black post.<sup>60</sup> However, Gannon's study does not report if any of the other GAR posts in those cities were integrated.

The reason for this segregation in what was supposedly an integrated organization is debated. Historian Donald R. Shaffer posits in *After the Glory*, the largest study of African American Civil War veterans to date, that the creation of African American posts was the result of an unspoken policy of segregation; blacks formed their own posts because they could not gain access to white posts.<sup>61</sup> Historian Stuart McConnell agrees with this assessment.<sup>62</sup> However, Gannon came to a different conclusion when she studied African Americans in the GAR. She contends that if the GAR actually was a segregated organization, the controversy over the proposal to have a segregated department in Louisiana and Mississippi would never have occurred; the proposal would have passed without comment. Further, the African American posts were "autonomous social organizations" and gave African American veterans leadership opportunities.<sup>63</sup>

In Springfield, membership in the GAR appears to have been much more important for the African American veterans than for the white veterans. Twelve men in the African American

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<sup>60</sup> Barbara A. Gannon, "The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic," (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 2005), 60.

<sup>61</sup> Shaffer, *After the Glory*, 153-155.

<sup>62</sup> McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 213-215.

<sup>63</sup> Barbara A. Gannon, "The Won Cause," 7-9.

reference group were GAR members (all in John Brown Post 633), while only four men in the white reference group belonged to the GAR.<sup>64</sup>

One reason for the higher percentage of African Americans in the GAR may be in a relative lack of choice in fraternal organizations, rather than a lack of access to such groups. A very small number of nineteenth century fraternal organizations allowed blacks to become members (the GAR being a notable exception). However, African Americans in this time period appear to have been at least as likely, and possibly more so, than whites to join a fraternal or mutual aid society.<sup>65</sup> Further, the decade of the 1880s was one of rapid growth for African American fraternal organizations, both for “parallel” groups of white organizations and groups specifically for African Americans.<sup>66</sup>

Springfield had a proliferation of fraternal organizations between 1884 and 1886, including groups for African Americans. The 1884-85 Springfield city directory lists thirty chapters of seventeen different fraternal and mutual aid societies. None of these groups listed any “colored” chapters, nor are any of the organizations known to be integrated or specifically African American.<sup>67</sup> By 1886, there were ninety chapters of twenty-six different “secret societies” listed. Included for African Americans were one GAR post, three chapters of the

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<sup>64</sup> This list was compiled using the Muster Rolls, series 6, Records of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Ohio, MSS 715, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, as well as the records of the annual encampments of 1887, 1889, 1890, 1899, 1900, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1907, and 1914; *Journal of the Twenty-fifth National Encampment (Silver Anniversary), Grand Army of the Republic, Detroit, Mich., August 5th, 6th and 7th, 1891* (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle Co., 1891), 343; *Illustrated Roster of the Department of Ohio Grand Army of the Republic* (Columbus, OH: by the Dept., 1912), 76.

<sup>65</sup> Theda Skocpol and Jennifer Lynn Oser, “Organization Despite Adversity: The Origins and Development of African American Fraternal Organizations,” *Social Science History* 28:3 (Fall 2004), 403.

<sup>66</sup> Skocpol and Oser, “Organization Despite Adversity,” 376-381.

<sup>67</sup> *Williams' Springfield City Directory for 1884-85* (n.p.: Williams & Co., 1884).



Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, two “colored” chapters of the Knights of Pythias, and five such chapters of the Masons.<sup>68</sup>

Whites had many more choices of organizations that they could join. The choices for African Americans were more limited. With at least an equal percentage of blacks wanting to join a fraternal organization, a higher percentage of the black population than the white population would be members of integrated groups, including the GAR.

African American veterans also benefitted more from GAR activities in an indirect manner. The GAR helped pass legislation providing for the burial of indigent veterans.<sup>69</sup> In Springfield, the GAR purchased a plot which came to be known as “the GAR Mound” or “the Soldiers’ Mound” in Ferncliff Cemetery. The GAR provided the burial place and the federal government provided the headstone for those interred there. A much higher percentage of the African American veterans’ known burial places were in the GAR section of Ferncliff (86 percent versus 21 percent of the white veterans’ burial places).<sup>70</sup> Although not all of these burials were for GAR members, this demonstrates one way that the GAR was more beneficial (directly or indirectly) to Springfield’s African American veterans than to the white veterans.

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<sup>68</sup> *Williams’ Springfield City Directory for 1886* (n.p.: Williams & Co., 1886). The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows was founded in 1843 as a response to the Independent Order of Odd Fellows’ exclusion of blacks in their organization, and is considered a “parallel” organization. (Skocpol and Oser, 376.)

<sup>69</sup> Elmer Edward Noyes, “A History of the Grand Army of the Republic in Ohio from 1866 to 1900,” (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1945), 238-239.

<sup>70</sup> *Deceased Veterans of the 1861-1865 American Civil War Buried in Ferncliff Cemetery up to 1933, Springfield, Clark County, Ohio* (Springfield, Oh.: Clark County Chapter of the Ohio Genealogical Society, 2001); Ohio Deaths 1908-1953, digitized images of Ohio death certificates, FamilySearch.org online (<http://pilot.familysearch.org/recordsearch/start.html#c=1307272;p=collectionDetails;t=searchable>); Ferncliff Cemetery Main Interment Archive, online ([http://www.ferncliffcemetery.org/FerncliffInterments/output/mainarchive\\_list.php](http://www.ferncliffcemetery.org/FerncliffInterments/output/mainarchive_list.php)).

## Chapter 3

### The GAR in Springfield: Assisting with Pensions and Burials

While the Grand Army of the Republic assisted soldiers in countless ways, the organization's greatest contribution to African American veterans in Springfield, besides providing camaraderie, was in assistance with pensions and burial expenses.

#### Pensions

Of the twenty-two African American veterans in the Springfield group who received pensions, eleven were GAR members and eleven were not. What is most striking, however, is that none of the nine men who did not receive pensions were GAR members.<sup>71</sup>

At the national level, a smaller percentage of black Civil War veterans received pensions compared to their white counterparts. Donald Shaffer's study found that 92.6 percent of white veterans who applied were successful in obtaining a pension, compared to only 75.4 percent of black veterans.<sup>72</sup> His study does not report on the number of veterans who never applied.

Illiteracy, bureaucracy, and prejudice all contributed to the difficulty in blacks obtaining pensions. The massive amount of forms and questionnaires which veterans had to file would be daunting to anyone who could not read or write. Veterans in such a situation could find themselves at the mercy of unscrupulous pension agents, men (usually attorneys) who would assist a veteran through the pension application process. Although the pension agents lobbied for the omission of any cap on fees in the 1879 pension law, Congress set the fee at five dollars per

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<sup>71</sup> "Organization Index to Pension Files of Veterans Who Served Between 1861 and 1900," digital images, Footnote.com (<http://www.footnote.com>); imaged from Organization Index to Pension Files of Veterans Who Served Between 1861 and 1900, microfilm publication T289 (Washington, DC: National Archives [n.d.]).

<sup>72</sup> Shaffer, *After the Glory*, 209.

application and one dollar and fifty cents per special examination or affidavit filed.<sup>73</sup> This prevented agents from setting their own fees; however, it did not prevent them from extending the process, either by promoting dubious claims or providing insufficient information, which could prompt a call for a special investigation.

Documenting the facts required by the Pension Bureau was often difficult for African American veterans. Most were not born in states that required civil birth registrations in the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>74</sup> This made it more difficult for them to prove their age when it came time to apply for an age-based pension increase. Unlike white veterans from states (like Ohio) that did not have early civil birth registrations, black veterans typically did not have a family Bible or a baptism certificate to document their birthdate. Black veterans who were married in slave-holding states had the extra burden of documenting their marriage. Marriage between slaves was illegal and such relationships were not recorded in the county courthouse. Even marriages among free blacks in the south could be difficult to document if the marriage was recorded in a courthouse that burned during the war.

Further complicating the pension process for African Americans was prejudice on the part of Pension Bureau officials and potential witnesses. Officially, the Pension Bureau relaxed rules of documentation for black applicants. However, these rules could be open for interpretation by individual Pension Bureau officials who had the authority to call for special examinations if they felt the documentation was insufficient. One study found that nearly half of the applications of

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<sup>73</sup> John William Oliver, "History of the Civil War Military Pensions, 1861-1885," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1915), 11.

<sup>74</sup> Val D. Greenwood, *The Researcher's Guide to American Genealogy*, 2d ed., (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1990), 151-158.

black veterans were subjected to special examinations while only 26 percent of the applications of white veterans were so subjected.<sup>75</sup>

Such was the case with Merritt A. Johnson of Springfield. Johnson was a corporal in Company I, 117th United States Colored Troops, having enlisted September 15, 1864 in Covington, Kentucky. He served until August 10, 1867, when he was discharged in Brownsville, Texas.<sup>76</sup> Although he was not a member of the GAR, he was able to read.<sup>77</sup>

Johnson filed for an invalid pension on February 2, 1889. He testified that the deafness in his left ear was due to the “severe cold” he contracted in Virginia in November 1865. He also claimed his was disabled due to an accidental bayonet wound sustained at Ringgold Barracks, Texas in October 1866.<sup>78</sup>

Johnson’s pension claim was not judged before Congress enacted the Pension Act of June 27, 1890, which allowed claims for disabilities not related to military service. On July 12, 1890, Johnson amended his claim to include “lumbago of back.”<sup>79</sup> He amended it again in early 1891, to include rheumatism and his injured right foot (which had one toe amputated).<sup>80</sup>

The Pension Bureau rejected Johnson’s application.<sup>81</sup> Although he appealed the ruling, it is evident that Johnson had become frustrated with the entire system. In his affidavit to the

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<sup>75</sup> Shaffer, *After the Glory*, 129.

<sup>76</sup> “Declaration for Invalid Army Pension, February 2, 1889,” Civil War Pension File of Merritt A. Johnson, Co I, 117 USCT, certificate 930806, Record Group 15, Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, National Archives, Washington, DC.

<sup>77</sup> 1900 federal census.

<sup>78</sup> “Declaration for Invalid Army Pension, February 2, 1889,” Civil War Pension File of Merritt A. Johnson.

<sup>79</sup> “Declaration for Invalid Pension, July 12, 1890,” Civil War Pension File of Merritt A. Johnson.

<sup>80</sup> “Declaration for Invalid Pension, June 16, 1891,” Civil War Pension File of Merritt A. Johnson.

<sup>81</sup> “Invalid Pension Statement, April 24, 1891,” Civil War Pension File of Merritt A. Johnson.

Pension Bureau, Johnson took exception to the doctor who examined him calling him “a charity patient,” when Johnson had paid fifteen dollars and still owed more. Johnson also saw the unequal way in which pensions were approved:

I have been more unable to perform manual labor in the last three years then some who are already granted pensions. In this instant, I have been bed fast for five months since January first 1891 and have just been out of bed eight days when I was ordered before the Medical Board of Springfield, Ohio. I am three fourth disabled on account of spinal disease of back rheumatism and injury to right foot. Doctor M. Myers of this city has also treated me for said complaints. On the medical examination made at Springfield, Ohio by Doctor Moore on February 18, 1891 the board did not examine my back or ear. I set forth in my Declaration that lumbago of back and deafness left ear.<sup>82</sup>

This was not the end of Johnson’s pension frustrations. The next five years were filled with affidavits from co-workers, special examinations, and Pension Bureau bureaucracy.

Although he was finally approved for an eight dollar monthly pension in 1896 based on his rheumatism and bronchitis, the Pension Bureau continued to reject Johnson’s claims of disability based on his injured foot, lumbago, and other ailments.

The Pension Bureau seemed determined to find ways to deny Johnson’s disability claims. For example, in 1906 he was examined by Dr. W. C. Gordon, who found that Johnson suffered from rheumatism and bronchitis. Gordon went on to say, “Said Merritt Johnson claims to have suffered with Muscular Rheumatism in lumbar region, better known as Lumbago, which of itself seems to me sufficient cause to incapacitate a man of his advanced years.”<sup>83</sup> Despite this, the pension commissioner denied Johnson’s request for an examination by a board of surgeons:

...the testimony of Dr. W. C. Gordon, filed August 29, 1906, has been carefully considered in connection with all other evidence in the case and as it fails to show an

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<sup>82</sup> “General Affidavit of Merritt A. Johnson, July 22, 1891,” Civil War Pension File of Merritt A. Johnson. Comparing his signature to the handwriting of the text of the affidavit, it is evident that Johnson gave oral testimony which was transcribed by someone else.

<sup>83</sup> “Medical Affidavit, August 29, 1906,” Civil War Pension file of Merritt A. Johnson.

increase in claimant's inability to perform manual labor, a medial examination by a board of surgeons is not warranted.<sup>84</sup>

Johnson finally received a pension increase based on his age in 1914.<sup>85</sup> The Pension Bureau never approved his additional disability claims.

After Merritt Johnson's death in 1915, his widow Lucinda applied for a pension based on his service. She, too, found it difficult to prove all that the Pension Bureau wanted. Her original application included affidavits by Horace Banion and George Coleman who each testified that they had known the veteran for more than fifty years, having served in the same regiment with him. (Coleman also testified that he knew Lucinda before she was married to Merritt.) Both testified that the Johnsons had never been married before, that they lived together until his death, and that she had not remarried after he died. Alice Brigham, who had known Lucinda since childhood, and Mary Banion also testified to those facts.<sup>86</sup> These affidavits, however, proved insufficient.

In February 1916, the Pension Bureau wrote to Mrs. Johnson's attorney James C. Walker to inform him that the Bureau needed a certificate showing her marriage to the deceased soldier. "The soldier stated in a paper filed in this Bureau in 1915, that a record was made of said marriage in Paris, Bourbon County, Kentucky, and further effort should be make [sic] to obtain the evidence indicated."<sup>87</sup> Walker replied that the Bourbon County Kentucky courthouse had

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<sup>84</sup> "Letter from Commissioner to J. Warren Keifer, December 14, 1906," Civil War Pension File of Merritt A. Johnson.

<sup>85</sup> "No. 930,806 Increase, March 31, 1914," Civil War Pension File of Merritt A. Johnson.

<sup>86</sup> "General Affidavit of Horace Banion, December 11, 1915," "General Affidavit of Mary A. Banion, December 11, 1915," "General Affidavit of Alice A. Brigham, December 23, 1915," and "General Affidavit of George Coleman, 25 January 1916," Civil War Pension File of Merritt A. Johnson.

<sup>87</sup> "Letter from G. M. Saltzgaber, Pension Commissioner to James C. Walker, February 8, 1916," Civil War Pension File of Merritt A. Johnson.

burned “with all records eighteen or nineteen years ago,” and reminded the Pension Bureau that in the case of “colored or Indian soldiers without other evidence of marriage” the testimony of neighbors showing them to have lived as man and wife would be sufficient evidence.<sup>88</sup> The Pension Bureau responded to him in June 1916:

...you are advised that if better evidence of the marriage of claimant and soldier in the above cited claim for pension is not obtainable, you should furnish the testimony of two competent witnesses who know of the marriage about the time of its occurrence and are able to give the date or approximate date of said marriage, and state how they are able to fix said date. The witnesses testifying should state their ages, post office addresses and means of knowledge of the facts.<sup>89</sup>

The Pension Bureau either ignored the previous testimony of Horace and Mary Banion, Alice Brigham, and George Coleman or decided to reject it based upon the technicality that their affidavits did not specify an exact date of marriage. Walker obtained new affidavits from Brigham and Alexander Coleman, each with the the statement that Merritt Johnson “was married to the claimant on or about December 25, 1867.”<sup>90</sup> Lucinda Johnson’s pension application was finally approved on September 19, 1916, a full ten months after she applied.<sup>91</sup>

In terms of success in obtaining pensions, the black veterans in the study were as successful as the white veterans. In both groups, all who applied for a pension were approved. What is notable is the number of black veterans who never applied. Out of thirty veterans, nine never applied for a pension. In addition, none of the three black veterans who died before 1890

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<sup>88</sup> “Letter from James C. Walker to Commissioner of Pensions, March 7, 1916,” Civil War Pension File of Merritt A. Johnson.

<sup>89</sup> “Letter from G. M. Saltzgaber to James C. Walker, June 1, 1916” Civil War Pension file of Merritt A. Johnson.

<sup>90</sup> “General Affidavit of Alice A. Brigham, July 31, 1916” and “General Affidavit of Alexander Coleman, August 14 1916,” Civil War Pension file of Merritt A. Johnson. In a letter accompanying the affidavits, Walker explained that he could not get another affidavit from George Coleman.

<sup>91</sup> “Accrued Pension Statement, September 25, 1916,” Civil War pension file of Merritt A. Johnson.

(when pension laws were liberalized) applied for pensions.<sup>92</sup> However, they may not have qualified due to the stricter requirements.

Community support played a crucial role in the pension process. None of the nine black veterans who did not apply for a pension was a member of the GAR. They lacked a point of access to information about pension laws and how to apply. The importance of this support is also shown in the number of illiterate black veterans who drew pensions. Of the seven black veterans who drew pensions and were totally or partially illiterate, five were members of the GAR.<sup>93</sup>

### Burials

Funerals could be quite expensive in the late nineteenth century. The cost of the undertaker, embalmer, burial plot, and headstone could put a “proper” burial beyond the reach of poor families. Veterans groups strove to prevent indigent veterans from being buried in paupers’ graves. The GAR, by far the largest organization for Union veterans, made this one of their missions. In 1884, the GAR in Ohio was instrumental in the passage of legislation that provided for burials of indigent veterans.<sup>94</sup>

Ferncliff Cemetery, the largest cemetery in Springfield, is the site of the “G.A.R. Mound.”<sup>95</sup> It is unclear which GAR posts in Springfield and Clark County purchased this section. What is clear is that out of the twenty-one African American veterans whose burial place

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<sup>92</sup> “Organization Index to Pension Files of Veterans Who Served Between 1861 and 1900.”

<sup>93</sup> 1880 federal census; 1900 federal census; Muster Rolls, series 6, Records of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Ohio, MSS 715, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, as well as the records of the annual encampments of 1887, 1889, 1890, 1899, 1900, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1907, and 1914;

<sup>94</sup> Noyes, “History of the Grand Army of the Republic in Ohio,” 238-239.

<sup>95</sup> Benjamin F. Prince, *A Standard History of Springfield and Clark County, Ohio* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1922), 559.



have been identified, eighteen were in the GAR section of Ferncliff Cemetery. Of the white veterans, twenty-four burial places have been identified; only five were in Ferncliff's GAR section.<sup>96</sup>

Table 3.1. The number and percentage of veterans buried in the GAR section of Ferncliff Cemetery in Springfield, Ohio.			
	# Graves Located	# Buried in Ferncliff's GAR Section	% Buried in Ferncliff's GAR Section
African American veterans	21	18	86%
White veterans	24	5	21%
<p><u>Source:</u> <i>Deceased Veterans of the 1861-1865 American Civil War Buried in Ferncliff Cemetery up to 1933, Springfield, Clark County, Ohio</i> (Springfield, Oh.: Clark County Chapter of the Ohio Genealogical Society, 2001); Ohio Deaths 1908-1953, digitized images of Ohio death certificates, FamilySearch.org online; Ferncliff Cemetery Main Interment Archive, online (<a href="http://www.ferncliffcemetery.org/FerncliffInterments/output/mainarchive_list.php">http://www.ferncliffcemetery.org/FerncliffInterments/output/mainarchive_list.php</a>).</p>			

Burial in the GAR section would have been a great financial help to the survivors of a veteran. There was no cost for the plot, nor was there a cost for the headstone. Legislation enacted in 1878 authorized the Secretary of War "to erect headstones over the graves of Union Soldiers who have been interred in private, village, or city cemeteries."<sup>97</sup> This included the GAR section of Ferncliff Cemetery. Figure 3.1 shows Merritt A. Johnson's government-issued tombstone in the GAR section of Ferncliff.

Although burial in the GAR section could have been a matter of choice rather than economic necessity, it should be noted that there were disadvantages to being buried there. The

<sup>96</sup> *Deceased Veterans of the 1861-1865 American Civil War Buried in Ferncliff Cemetery up to 1933, Springfield, Clark County, Ohio* (Springfield, Oh.: Clark County Chapter of the Ohio Genealogical Society, 2001); Ohio Deaths 1908-1953, digitized images of Ohio death certificates, FamilySearch.org online (<http://pilot.familysearch.org/recordsearch/start.html#c=1307272;p=collectionDetails;t=searchable>); Ferncliff Cemetery Main Interment Archive, online ([http://www.ferncliffcemetery.org/FerncliffInterments/output/mainarchive\\_list.php](http://www.ferncliffcemetery.org/FerncliffInterments/output/mainarchive_list.php)).

<sup>97</sup> Mark C. Mollan, "Honoring Our War Dead: The Evolution of the Government Policy on Headstones for Fallen Soldiers and Sailors," *Prologue* 35, no. 1 (Spring 2003), under "Honoring Our War Dead," <http://archives.gov/publications/prologue/2003/spring/headstones.html> (accessed April 6, 2009).

soldier would not be buried with his family. The family would have no choice of the burial site. Further, the headstone would not be personalized other than showing the veteran's name, regiment, and rank (if higher than private). Figure 3.1 shows Merritt A. Johnson's government-issued tombstone in the GAR section of Ferncliff Cemetery.



Fig. 3.1 Merritt A. Johnson's tombstone. Photo by Amy Crow, April 23, 2009.

A veteran who wanted to have his Civil War service to be known after his death could do so in ways other than being buried in the GAR section. For example, a veteran could have the name of his regiment inscribed on his headstone. GAR members could have a special flag holder placed at his grave. Some GAR members, such as C. William Needles of the 8th Ohio Cavalry, had the GAR insignia engraved on their tombstones.<sup>98</sup> Figure 3.2 shows C. William Needles' tombstone in section N, Ferncliff Cemetery.



Fig. 3.2 C. William Needles' tombstone. Photo by Amy Crow, April 23, 2009.

Ferncliff Cemetery did not place restrictions on where African Americans could be buried. African American non-veterans in this study were buried in sections B, F, and N; whites were also buried in section N. Ferncliff also placed no restrictions on where government-issued gravestones could be placed; they are found in numerous sections of the cemetery in addition to the GAR section.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Visit to Ferncliff Cemetery by the author, April 23, 2009.

<sup>99</sup> Ferncliff Cemetery, "Main Interment Archive," [http://www.ferncliffcemetery.org/FerncliffInterments/output/mainarchive\\_list.php](http://www.ferncliffcemetery.org/FerncliffInterments/output/mainarchive_list.php). Also, visit to Ferncliff Cemetery by the author, April 23, 2009.

Of the five white veterans in the reference group who are buried in the GAR section, only one (John Kills) is known to have owned his house free and clear. James Iliff's house was mortgaged. Isaac Morris rented.<sup>100</sup> This seems to indicate that burial in the GAR section was often done for financial reasons.

With the disadvantages to being buried in the GAR section and the options for touting military service, the most common reason for burial in such a section appears to have been economics. It was more affordable to bury the veteran there than to bury him in a private or family plot. The overwhelming percentage of African American veterans buried in the GAR section is an indication of the more difficult economic situation of those veterans and their families as compared to the white veterans.

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<sup>100</sup> 1900 federal census. The homeownership status of the other two white veterans is undetermined.

## Chapter 4

### Literacy, Wealth, and Occupations

#### Literacy

In the nineteenth century, the literacy rate was lower for African Americans than for whites in the United States. Southern states made it illegal for slaves to learn to read. In the north, blacks were subject to discrimination, both legal and *de facto*, when trying to access formal education. In Cincinnati, for example, when African Americans complained in 1840 that their tax dollars were being used to support schools that their children were not allowed to attend, the city council gave \$257 to start a charity school (which lasted less than one year). At the same time, the council abolished the school tax on property owned by African Americans. Rather than having to provide services to all of the taxpayers, council members opted to forgo those taxes so they did not have to educate black children.<sup>101</sup>

It was not until 1848 that Ohio established schools for black students; even then, they were only required in towns with twenty or more black school-age children. Where there were fewer than twenty, black students could attend the local public school “if local custom permitted.”<sup>102</sup>

Literacy rates for African Americans in Springfield were slightly higher than for African Americans overall in Ohio. In 1890, 16.8 percent of “colored males 10 years of age and over” living in Springfield either could not write or could not read or write.<sup>103</sup> The illiteracy rate for

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<sup>101</sup> Nancy Bertaux and Michael Washington, “The ‘Colored Schools’ of Cincinnati and African American Community in Cincinnati, 1849-1890,” *Journal of Negro Education* 74, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 44-45.

<sup>102</sup> George W. Knepper, *Ohio and Its People* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1989), 188.

<sup>103</sup> Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890*, part II (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1897), 231.

African American males across Ohio was 24.22 percent.<sup>104</sup> Springfield's illiteracy rate for African American males was comparable to the other cities in Ohio with populations of 25,000 or more, which ranged from a low of 7.7 percent in Cleveland to a high of 19.5 percent in Columbus.<sup>105</sup>

The Springfield groups bear out the national trend of whites being more literate than African Americans. Of the white veterans studied, the literacy of twenty-two could be determined. Only one (Isaac Morris) could not read or write. Each of the African American groups studied fared worse. Only 82.7 percent of the African Americans could read (both groups combined), compared with 95.7 percent of the whites. Only 69.2 percent of the African Americans could write, compared with 95.7 percent of the whites.<sup>106</sup>

In his study of African American officeholders in the South during Reconstruction, historian Eric Foner found a higher rate of literacy for black Civil War veterans than for black non-veterans.<sup>107</sup> Donald Shaffer used Foner's findings to infer that this pattern was true for the African American community as a whole, not just for politicians.<sup>108</sup> However, this did not prove to be the case in Springfield's African American community. In Springfield, the black non-veterans were markedly more literate than the black veterans (see Table 4.1).

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<sup>104</sup> Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890*, part III (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 309.

<sup>105</sup> Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890*, part I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 718-725; Dept. of the Interior, Census Office, *Report of the Population...1890*, part II, 230-231.

<sup>106</sup> 1880, 1900, 1910 census.

<sup>107</sup> Eric Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders during Reconstruction*, rev. ed. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), xxiv.

<sup>108</sup> Shaffer, *After the Glory*, 16-18.

Table 4.1. Rate of literacy of the Springfield reference groups.						
	African American Veterans		African American Non-veterans		White Veterans	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Could Read	16	72.7	27	90.0	22	95.7
Could Not Read	6	27.3	3	10.0	1	4.3
Subtotal	22		30		23	
Unknown*	11		0		7	
Total	33		30		30	
Could Write	14	63.6	22	73.3	22	95.7
Could Not Write	8	36.4	8	26.7	1	4.3
Subtotal	22		30		23	
Unknown*	11	33.3	0	0	7	23.3
Total	33		30		30	
<p>* Literacy could not be determined for those not found in the 1880 census nor in the 1900 census (or deceased by 1900). None of the African American non-veterans are unknown because that reference group was created from the 1880 census. Some individuals had contradictory census records (e.g., “could read” in 1880, but “could not read” in 1900). Where contradictions occurred in the census records, the individual was considered able to read or write.</p> <p>Source: 1880 federal census records (population schedules), NARA micropublication T9; 1900 federal census records (population schedules), NARA micropublication T623.</p>						

One explanation for this discrepancy is the birthplaces of the men. More members of the African American veteran group were born in the south, which historically had a higher rate of illiteracy among African Americans than did the north. In 1890, for example, the illiteracy rate of the male black population age 10 and over was 56.78 percent in Virginia and 55.63 percent in

Kentucky; only 24.22 percent in Ohio were illiterate.<sup>109</sup> Table 4.2 shows the literacy rates in 1890 for those states where members of the African American groups were born.

Table 4.2. Percentage of “Negro” or “colored” male population who were illiterate in 1880 and 1890.		
State	1880*	1890**
<b>Northern States:</b>		
Ohio	32.4	24.22
Indiana	40.5	30.47
Pennsylvania	28.6	22.06
<b>Southern States:</b>		
Alabama	81.4	66.19
Kentucky	73.6	55.03
Maryland	63.5	48.54
Mississippi	76.0	57.65
North Carolina	76.4	57.22
Tennessee	73.0	51.98
Virginia	78.1	56.78
<p>* “Colored males of 21 years of age and upward” who could not write; rates of those who could not read were not given.</p> <p>** “Negro male population 10 years of age and over” who were illiterate. Illiteracy was not defined, so it is unclear whether these rates refer to those who could not read, could not write, or both.</p> <p>Source: Department of the Interior, Census Office, <i>Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890</i>, part III (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 309; Department of the Interior, Census Office, <i>Compendium of the Tenth Census, June 1, 1880</i>, part II (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1888), 1653.</p>		

<sup>109</sup> Dept. of the Interior, Census Office, *Compendium...1890*, part III, 309; Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Compendium of the Tenth Census, June 1, 1880*, part II (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1888), 1653.

Of the Springfield black non-veterans, 30 percent were born in the north, compared to only 4.5 percent of the black veterans. Table 4.3 shows the birthplaces of the African Americans for whom literacy could be determined. From this, it appears that literacy was determined more by birthplace and the educational opportunities available there than by military service.

Table 4.3. Birthplace of African Americans for whom literacy could be determined.				
Birthplace	Black Veterans		Black Non-Veterans	
	#	% of total	#	% of total
<b>Northern States:</b>				
Ohio	1	4.5	7	23.3
Indiana	0	0	1	3.3
Pennsylvania	0	0	1	3.3
<b>Subtotal, Northern States:</b>	1	4.5	9	29.9
<b>Southern States:</b>				
Alabama	0	0	1	3.3
Kentucky	14	63.6	10	33.3
Maryland	1	4.5	3	10.0
Mississippi	0	0	1	3.3
North Carolina	1	4.5	0	0
Tennessee	0	0	1	3.3
Virginia	5	22.7	5	16.7
<b>Subtotal, Southern States:</b>	21	95.3	21	69.9
<b>Total</b>	22	99.8*	30	99.8*
* Figures do not total 100 percent due to rounding.				
Source: 1880 federal census records (population schedules), NARA publication T9; 1900 federal census records (population schedules), NARA publication T623.				



## Wealth

Just as today, literacy could have a huge impact on a person's life. As noted earlier, it was much harder for illiterate veterans to obtain a pension without the aid of an organization such as the GAR. The ability to read and write directly affected a person's occupation and accumulation of wealth. One way to measure wealth is home ownership.

Home ownership was indicated in the 1900 census. The heads of household were asked if they rented or if they owned their homes; if they owned their homes, they were to indicate whether they were free or mortgaged.

The black veterans studied were far less successful than the white veterans in home ownership. Only 57.1 percent of the black veterans either owned their homes outright or were paying for their homes, compared to 75 percent of the white veterans. Comparisons of the two African American groups is not as straightforward. Although the percentage of those who were buying or owned their houses was similar (57.1 percent for the veterans and 60 percent for the non-veterans), the non-veterans were more likely to own their homes outright.<sup>110</sup> Table 4.4 shows the home ownership status of members of the reference groups who were found in the 1900 census.

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<sup>110</sup> 1900 federal census records (population schedules), NARA publication T623.

Table 4.4. Home ownership status of the Springfield reference groups.

	Rented/ Boarders		Owned, Mortgaged		Owned, Free		Owned, Combined *	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Black veterans (14 total)	6	42.9	3	21.4	5	35.7	8	57.1
Black non-veterans (10 total)	4	40.0	1	10.0	5	50.0	6	60.0
White veterans (12 total)	3	25.0	6	50.0**	3	25.0**	9	75.0

\* Total of mortgaged and free.

\*\* The ownership count for the white veterans does not reflect all of the ownership of the group. One veteran indicated he owned his home, but did not say whether it was free or mortgaged; he is included in this table as "mortgaged." Charles Reeser, who was the Adjutant at the Ohio Soldiers Home in 1900, is not included. Although he did not indicate home ownership, he undoubtedly owned property, as he was the founder of a major nursery in Springfield.

Source: 1900 federal census records (population schedules), NARA publication T623.

Among the African American groups, home ownership does not appear to be affected by military service. Literacy appears to be the key factor of home ownership. In the group of black veterans, home ownership (whether owned outright or mortgaged) was considerably higher for those who could read (42.9 percent) than those who could not (14.3 percent). Neither group had anyone who could not read who owned their home outright.<sup>111</sup> Table 4.5 shows the home ownership status of the two African American groups, based on ability to read.

<sup>111</sup> 1900 federal census records (population schedules), NARA publication T623.

Table 4.5. Home ownership status in the African American reference groups, based on ability to read.

	Rented/ Boarders		Owned, Mortgaged		Owned, Free		Owned, Combined *	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
<b>Black veterans (14 total)</b>								
Could read	3	21.4	1	7.1	5	35.7	6	42.9
Could not read	3	21.4	2	14.3	0	0.0	2	14.3
<b>Black non-veterans (10 total)</b>								
Could read	3	30.0	1	10.0	5	50.0	6	60.0
Could not read	1	10.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
* Total of mortgaged and free.								
Source: 1900 federal census records (population schedules).								

### Occupation

In his study of African American Civil War veterans, Donald Shaffer examined what he called “high-status” occupations. Drawing from the list of occupations in the 1890 *Report on Population*, Shaffer comprised a list of occupations he considered to be “high-status,” which was anything that required training or skill. Barbers, ministers, painters, brickmasons, and gas fitters, for example, fit into this category. Common laborers and farmers did not. Shaffer found that across the United States, 13 percent of African American veterans held high-status jobs, while only 7 percent of African American men aged 45 and over who did not serve in the army held such jobs. His conclusion based on this nationwide data is that “northern and urban residence

evidently gave black veterans better access to higher-status occupations compared with nonveteran African Americans, who were more likely to be found in the rural South.”<sup>112</sup>

While this conclusion holds on a national scale, the pattern does not follow for blacks living in the north. Like literacy and home ownership, black veterans do not appear to have had an advantage over black non-veterans when it came to quality of employment. In Springfield, only 23.5 percent of the African American veterans held “high-status” jobs in 1880, compared to 44.8 percent of the African American non-veterans and 84.2 percent of the white veterans.<sup>113</sup>

Table 4.6 shows the number of those in the reference groups whose occupations were found in the 1880 census and the percentage of high-status occupations.

Table 4.6. Number and percentage of reference groups holding high-status occupations in 1880.					
African American Veterans (17 total)		African American Non-veterans (29 total)		White Veterans (19 total)	
4	23.5%	13	44.8%	16	84.2%
NOTE: Occupations listed in the 1880 census were categorized as “high-status” using the list compiled by Donald Shaffer, <i>After the Glory</i> (219-220).					
Source: 1880 federal census (population schedules).					

Black veterans in Springfield had two things working against them. First, their higher rate of illiteracy would be a hindrance to obtaining better employment. Second, they likely encountered a stronger amount of discrimination because of their southern origins. Even though they fought for their country, that service apparently could not overcome the practical consequences of illiteracy and the subjectivity of prejudice.

<sup>112</sup> Shaffer, *After the Glory*, 52-53, 219-220.

<sup>113</sup> 1880 federal census (population schedules).

## Conclusion

After the Civil War, Ohio's cities received an influx of population from rural areas of the state and from African Americans from the south. Cities like Springfield had growing industrial bases and offered many more opportunities for employment.

Relatively little has been written about the experience of African American Civil War veterans. Donald Shaffer's groundbreaking book, *After the Glory*, concludes that black veterans fared better after the war in terms of literacy, wealth, and occupation, than blacks who did not serve in the military. While this conclusion appears to be valid when examining the African American population across the United States, it does not appear to be the case in Ohio.

In Springfield, black veterans had lower rates of literacy and home ownership than did black non-veterans. They also held fewer "high-status" occupations. Their birthplaces in the south greatly affected them for their entire lives. They had fewer educational opportunities in their youth. They also experienced a greater degree of prejudice in adulthood.

The Grand Army of the Republic offered them assistance in terms of opportunities for camaraderie, assistance with pensions, and affordable burials. However, African American Civil War veterans overall could not translate their military service into tangible improvements in their life. Despite having served their country honorably and earned "a diploma of patriotism,"<sup>114</sup> black Civil War veterans could not use their military service to overcome the obstacles of illiteracy and prejudice.

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<sup>114</sup> McGillicuddy, *Proceedings of the Annual and Semi-annual Encampments*, 15.

## Appendix

### Members of the Reference Groups

#### African American Veterans

Bailey, John. 117th USCT. Born 1845, Kentucky. Died February 3, 1924.  
 Bassey, Morris. 17th USCT. Died before 1880.  
 Bluford, Gabriel. 5th USCT. Born 1836, Kentucky. Died April 17, 1907.  
 Branch, Benjamin. 5th USCT. Born 1823, Kentucky. Died November 1, 1893.  
 Brannan, Joseph. 5th USCT. Born 1842, Virginia. Died December 17, 1925.  
 Clark, Mathias. 100th USCT. Born in Kentucky. Died October 21, 1890.  
 Coleman, Alexander. 117th USCT. Born 1841, Kentucky. Died January 14, 1923.  
 Coleman, George. 17th USCT. Born 1842, Kentucky. Died December 8, 1920.  
 Custard, Jesse. 117th USCT. Born 1846, Kentucky. Died January 25, 1896.  
 Davis, Jesse. 72nd USCT. Born in Kentucky.  
 Ellis, George W. 11th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery. Died June 11, 1893.  
 Ford, James H. 119th USCT. Born 1846, Virginia. Died February 3, 1921.  
 Francis, Austin. 5th USCT. Born 1843, North Carolina. Died March 16, 1899.  
 Grain, James. 55th Massachusetts Infantry. Born 1841, Virginia. Died January 25, 1921.  
 Hamilton, Willis. 13th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery and 72nd USCT.  
 Hoggins, John. 12th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery.  
 Hull, Aaron. 19th USCT. Died before 1887.  
 Jackson, William. 117th USCT. Died before 1880.  
 Johnson, Merritt A. 117th USCT. Born 1843, Kentucky. Died November 25, 1915.  
 Jones, John W. 55th Massachusetts Infantry. Born in Virginia. Died June 17, 1907.  
 Monroe, Alfred. 32nd USCT. Born 1837, Virginia. Died December 9, 1909.  
 Porter, George. 27th USCT. Born 1842, Ohio. Died June 1900.  
 Richards, Alfred. 114th USCT. Born 1837, Kentucky. Died December 13, 1917.  
 Smith, Nathaniel. 6th or 16th USCT.  
 Snider, John. 12th Massachusetts Infantry.  
 Stewart, William Harrison. 3rd USCT.  
 Stiggers (or Staggers), William. 116th USCT. Born 1828, Kentucky. Died June 8, 1904.  
 Wiggins, Jefferson. 117th USCT. Born 1837, Kentucky. Died September 13, 1902.  
 Williams, George. 116th USCT.  
 Wilson, Spencer. 117th Kentucky Colored Infantry. Born 1842, Kentucky. Died January 6, 1899.  
 Wood, Charles H. 5th U.S. Colored Artillery. Born 1845, Kentucky. Died March 8, 1831.  
 Young, Moses. 38th USCT. Born 1845, Maryland. Died January 4, 1918.

### African American Non-veterans

Adams, Charles. Born 1834, Virginia.  
 Aikins, Randall. Born 1840, Kentucky.  
 Ayers, Joseph. Born 1841, Maryland. Died June 19, 1907.  
 Basey (or Bassey), A. D. Born 1845, Kentucky.  
 Boland, Robert. Born 1830, Virginia.  
 Branom, Daniel. Born 1843, Ohio.  
 Buford, James. Born 1826, Kentucky.  
 Chapman, Thomas. Born 1845, Ohio.  
 Davis, George. Born 1842, Pennsylvania. Died August 30, 1915.  
 Echols, William C. Born 1830, Virginia. Died after 1900.  
 Fields, George. Born 1830, Ohio.  
 Fillmore, Carter. Born 1833, Mississippi. Died July 20, 1905.  
 Guinea (or Guiner), James. Born 1825, Virginia.  
 Hargoe, Henry. Born 1843, Ohio.  
 Harvey, Lewis. Born 1840, Ohio.  
 Henderson, Charles. Born 1843, Ohio.  
 Jackson, Edward C. Born 1835, Kentucky. Died January 31, 1912.  
 King, John. Born 1840, Kentucky.  
 Kinney, John. Born 1842, Alabama.  
 Lee, Josiah. Born 1836, Indiana.  
 Miller, William. Born 1845, Kentucky.  
 Moore, William Jefferson. Born 1835, Kentucky. Died December 12, 1912.  
 Morrison, Robert. Born 1842, Virginia. Died after 1900.  
 Smith, William. Born 1840, Maryland. Died after 1900.  
 Speaks, Lawson. Born 1838, Maryland. Died January 10, 1917.  
 Taylor, Jeremiah. Born 1836, Kentucky. Died August 11, 1903.  
 Thomas, George. Born 1842, Tennessee.  
 Viers, James. Born 1839, Ohio.  
 Williams, John. Born 1842, Kentucky.  
 Williams, Louis. Born 1835, Kentucky. Died September 13, 1890.

### White Veterans

Alexander, William. 94th Ohio Volunteer Infantry (OVI). Born 1840, Ohio. Died April 24, 1909.  
 Arbogast, William H. 16th OVI. Born 1840, Ohio. Died April 10, 1903.  
 Bombaugh, Louis H. OVI. Born 1836, Ohio. Died September 16, 1910.  
 Carter, John. 9th U.S. Army.  
 Collins, John S. 94th OVI.  
 Davisson, Daniel D. 66th OVI. Born 1831, Ohio. Died April 2, 1913.  
 Elifritz, Upton. 17th Ohio Battery. Born 1839, Maryland. Died November 25, 1897.

Gille, Lewis. 66th OVI. Born Massachusetts. Died December 14, 1891.

Grau (or Gran), Joseph. 5th OVI and 108th OVI.

Hedges, William N. 145th OVI. Born 1842, Ohio. Died December 19, 1906.

Iloff, James B. 74th OVI. Born 1828, Ohio. Died between 1900 and 1910.

Kills, John. 2nd OVI and 31st OVI. Born 1841, Ohio. Died August 26, 1924.

Knoblock, Jacob. 15th New York Artillery. Born 1838, Germany. Died June 14, 1907.

McClellan, Abram. 1st Ohio Heavy Artillery. Born in Ohio. Died October 29, 1911.

McGee, Charles. 23rd OVI

Morris, Isaac. 45th OVI. Born 1833, Delaware. Died July 16, 1903.

Morrow, C. Oscar. 113th OVI. Born 1833, Ohio.

Myers, Daniel A. 153rd OVI. Born 1834, Pennsylvania. Died January 25, 1913.

Neal (or Neill), John C. 168th OVI.

Needles, C. William. 8th Ohio Cavalry. Born 1848, Ohio. Died September 15, 1944.

Pipes, William. 176th OVI.

Randall, Dinsmore. 10th Ohio Light Artillery. Born in New York. Died June 29, 1895.

Reeser, Charles A. 10th Pennsylvania. Born 1843, Pennsylvania. Died June 5, 1932.

Rhodes, Harry. 8th Ohio Cavalry. Died June 21, 1897.

Slye, George N. 36th OVI. Born 1844, Palestine [sic]. Died January 19, 1933.

Stockwell, Absolom R. 59th OVI. Born 1844, Ohio. Died April 28, 1928.

Turner, John. 5th Ohio Cavalry and 11th OVI. Born 1844, Ohio. Died February 23, 1911.

Welsh, William S. 86th OVI. Born 1846, West Virginia [sic]. Died March 3, 1919.

Winans, George W. 63rd OVI. Born in Ohio.

Wise, Michael. 22nd OVI and 37th OVI. Born 1839, Ohio. Died July 7, 1899.



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